

# *The* INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER

MAY . . . 1947



*Official Magazine*

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

## Look Out! The Wind is Rising

**R**EMEMBER how all those business men promised us that if the OPA was killed, prices would seek their level? They were right. Prices are seeking their level—at the moon!

Clever chaps, those business men. What a laugh they had at our expense. Last year they piled up profits of twelve billion dollars, after persuading Congress to kill the OPA and reduce their taxes.

And still they are not satisfied. At the present rate of price increases, corporation profits this year, after taxes, will reach the staggering total of 15 billion.

All that money comes out of our pockets. We're the suckers.

On April 1, wholesale prices on all commodities had risen more than 32 per cent since Congress killed the OPA.

Food prices were still worse. They had risen more than 48 per cent on April 1, while prices were seeking their astronomical level.

Now these business men have us right over a barrel. We can't pay those prices unless we get more wages. And if we get more wages the business men will boost their prices again. So, the more we get, the further we fall behind.

And instead of doing anything about prices, Congress is prattling about restricting labor.

Labor has only one chance to come out even and that is for prices to be reduced. But Congress isn't listening to anything like that. Congress hears the voices of the corporations, coming down from on high—from the summits of their mountains of gold.

These voices tell Congress not to worry about business but to worry about labor. Labor, they say, is the cause of all our troubles. And Congress responds like a puppy licking its master's hand.

Of course the congressmen and senators are not as worried about this as we are. They got a 50 per cent wage raise plus liberal "expenses." Their wages have gone up faster than prices.

And we pay those wage increases out of our taxes while Congress figures out ways to make it harder for us to pay our food bills.

This can't go on much longer. Even Congress ought to be able to see that. We are heading toward one hell of a crash! When it comes, Congress had better be prepared to feed several million unemployed.

Congress won't be dealing with labor unions then. It will be dealing with mobs. The steadying influence of labor leaders, striving to achieve economic sanity, will be gone.

And those billions of excess profits the corporations have piled up? They will be gone, too. The coming cyclone will leave little behind it—perhaps not even Congress.



# The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



**Official Magazine** INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS  
CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

Vol. XLIV MAY, 1947 Number 6

Restore Federal Price Controls, Tobin Demands . . . . .	2
Brewery Workers Offer Lower Wage Scales . . . . .	4
Keep Rent Control, Urges Women's Union League . . . . .	8
Teamsters Win Seven Breweries in California . . . . .	9
George Meany Hits Republicans on Hartley Bill . . . . .	11
Business Finally Indorses Teacher Pay Raise . . . . .	14
Labor News Notes of the Month . . . . .	16
Minneapolis Milk Drivers Write History of Union . . . . .	18
Tobin-Murray Meeting Ends Pittsburgh Lockout . . . . .	21
Traffic Control Will Reduce Huge Highway Casualties . . . . .	23
British Labor Unions Are Backing Recovery . . . . .	25
Green Warns of Danger in Outlawing Communist Party . . . . .	27
Norris-LaGuardia Act Prohibits Injunction Abuse . . . . .	30
Proposed Law Would Admit 400,000 Europeans . . . . .	Inside Back Cover

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# Restore Federal Price Controls!

Free Enterprise May Not Last Year Out, Tobin Warns

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

The following article was written by Mr. Tobin in response to a request from Managing Editor Bernard Tassler for publication in the May issue of *The American Federationist*, the excellent magazine of the American Federation of Labor. With the consent of Mr. Tassler, it is being published simultaneously in our May issue.

**W**ELL, we finally got rid of those lousy federal bureaucrats. And just in time, too. Otherwise we would never have entered this Garden of Eden into which the National Association of Manufacturers has led us.

And it is truly a Garden of Eden—for the National Association of Manufacturers. Lots of apples. Big, round apples glowing like the rosy cheeks of Herbert Hoover, in his prime.

Pretty soon they will be available on every street corner. That's free enterprise—service to the customers! And the right of every man to go into business for himself, selling apples or pencils or shoelaces or any other commodity for which there is a public demand.

The bureaucrats would have denied us all that. They would have kept men working in factories and on trucks and things like that. Even though such jobs would have paid more money, it would have deprived men of the satisfaction of being in business for themselves.

As business men, they would be eligible to join the local chamber of commerce and, if they sold enough apples, to join the Rotary Club and call the leading undertaker by his first name.

For the last year we have been heading hell bent for this condition. It gives me no satisfaction to recall that through the columns of our official publication—THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER—I have con-

stantly sounded the alarm. I warned against the too rapid demobilization of our armed forces. I warned against the too rapid relaxation of federal controls. I said that

the crisis of peace would be as great as the crisis of war.

I was called a radical when I said that free enterprise in the United States would not last more than 5 or 10 years if these things happened.

It appears now that I was too optimistic. Free enterprise may not last the year out, unless prompt remedial steps are taken.

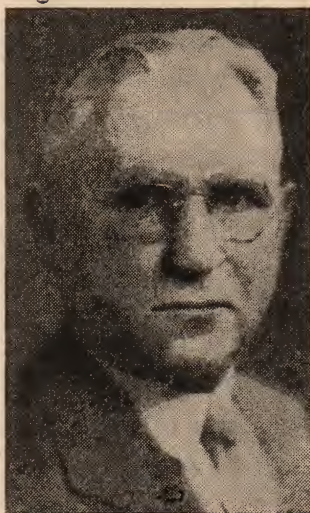
Who will take these steps? The President of the United States has beseeched business to take them—to voluntarily reduce the prices that are soaring into the stratosphere and make it impossible for a man on an average income to provide a balanced diet for his family and to clothe his family decently.

And what has been the answer of business? To point with accusation at labor. Labor, we are told by the apostles of the National Association of Manufacturers, has forced this condition on the country.

But what are the facts? The facts are that last year business rolled up profits after taxes of some 12 billion dollars while the wages of workers were declining five billion dollars.

As wages went down, profits went up.

We are now in the position of trying to force wages up to the level of prices, whereupon prices will go up again. We will



President Tobin



always be a lap behind. Business has refused to do anything about it. That leaves only the federal government. The government must do something if we are to escape a complete economic collapse.

The answer to the plight of the average citizen is not increased wages. Increased wages mean nothing, if every wage increase is the signal for a still higher price increase. In fact, each succeeding wage increase will leave labor worse off, if each price increase is higher than the wage increase, which it usually is.

The amount of money a man makes is not important. The important thing is what that money will buy. Money is no good if it won't buy groceries, shoes and housing.

And as we proceed further down the dizzy dip to inflation, our money is buying less and less. Dollars are becoming worthless.

The solution rests with price control. If business won't control prices, the federal government must. If prices can be leveled off somewhere, we can then adjust our wage structure to the price structure and restore economic stability. That will give us a higher standard of living.

As matters stand now, the public does not have the money to buy, at current prices, the goods that are being produced. That means that less goods will be produced. That, in turn, means that men will be laid off. As unemployment increases, the public will have still less money to spend, and production will decrease still more.

Then we end up in a depression. And probably it will be a depression such as this nation or the world has never seen before. If the United States falls on its face, the last hope for restoration of world stability will have vanished for a long time to come.

We will be floundering in the mud with the rest of the nations of the world. Desperate and hungry people will be listening for any voice in the wilderness and looking for any man on a white horse. Our campaign to check the spread of Communism will evaporate like the dew at dawn.

It is ironical that while business chants with fear and frenzy about the spread of Communism throughout the world, it has adopted a policy in this nation that will

bring Communism or some other totalitarian evil.

We cannot extol the virtues of democracy to people who have seen it fall, disemboweled by its most fanatical advocates.

Democracy will be dead, in the United States and throughout the world, the moment depression strikes the United States and stops its program of world-wide leadership.

We stand today on the verge of a precipice. We can commit suicide if we choose. Or we can save ourselves by facing the facts and resolving to do something about them.

Nobody chafed more under the federal controls of war than I. I realized, however, that they were necessary to save us from a greater peril. They were necessary to win the war.

But the war is not yet won. It will not be won until the last island of resistance has fallen. Europe and Asia today are vast islands of resistance—continents of resistance!

They are resisting the spread of the ideals we fought to perpetuate. As long as they do, the war is still on.

It is being fought with different weapons on different fronts. But it is still in progress. Yet most of our leaders think we can abandon all the restrictions of war without jeopardizing our ultimate victory.

Our ultimate victory is in great jeopardy. In fact, we have almost lost. Another year of letting nature take its course will be fatal.

Our new generals are selling us out. They are in collusion with the enemy, in fact if not in realization.

The National Association of Manufacturers and its allies are, in effect, subversive organizations. All they offer us is Fascism to save us from Communism. Under either, our defeat would be as abject and our misery as acute.

We are blinded by our passion to escape "regimentation," the word which the National Association of Manufacturers fastened on sensible federal controls.

And will we escape regimentation? Not if the industrial leaders of America have their way. Brother, we ain't seen nothing yet!



# Brewery Workers Offer Less Pay

## CIO Should Read Brewery Workers' Constitution

FOR the last five years Drewry's beer and ale have been produced by Teamsters in South Bend, Ind., working under excellent conditions in a fine, sanitary brewery which is being constantly enlarged and improved.

The management of Drewry's has maintained cordial relations with the Teamsters and pays the highest wage scale in the area, notwithstanding the fact that two competing CIO breweries in South Bend pay lower wages and provide far less favorable working conditions.

Drewry's beer is marketed extensively through the midwest, while Drewry's ale is sold from coast to coast.

On the opposite page are two pictures taken in Drewry's brewery, one showing bottles coming out of the sterilizer and being carefully inspected before being packed in cases. The other shows the filled cases passing on conveyor belts to trucks for shipment.

Every step in the production of Drewry's beer and ale is handled by Teamsters.

Other Teamsters throughout the country should remember these facts whenever they see a Drewry's label. These products deserve our patronage. Teamsters make good beer. They should drink it, too.

Last month the Brewery Workers' Union launched an attack on these wages and conditions. They passed out literature to the employees of Drewry's brewery which dripped with generous promises.

One of the most generous was:

"Most of all, we are offering you a separate organization to take care of Drewry's workers problems alone! You will be issued a separate charter—Drewry's workers only."

That sounds fine to employees interested in a separate union. The only trouble is that it is impossible. The International constitution of the Brewery Workers' Union prohibits it.

Here's what it says in Article IV, Section B:

**"No two unions of the same branch of the trade shall be recognized in the same locality."**

There is already one union of the Brewery Workers in South Bend, embracing the employees of the Hoosier and Kamm breweries. These men, working under a Brewery Workers' contract, draw less wages than the employees of Drewry's under a Teamster contract.

Therefore if the Drewry's workers should, in a moment of amnesia, vote to go back to the Brewery Workers, they would be thrown in with the Kamm and Hoosier workers under a contract that pays lower wages.

And would Drewry's Brewery continue to pay more wages under a Brewery Workers' contract than two of its competitors pay under the same contract?

Don't make us laugh!

Drewry's wages would go down to the same level as Kamm's and Hoosier's. And the better conditions won at Drewry's by the Teamsters would disappear also.

Another piece of "literature" distributed from the prolific pens of the CIO publicity men states:

*"A regular industrial union of Drewry's workers, affiliated with the CIO, can be established in your plant. You will have the right to elect your own officers and business agent. Conduct the business of your own local union. Officers of your local will be your fellow workers who know your problems and are your choice."*

Very interesting, if true. Very unfortunately, not true.

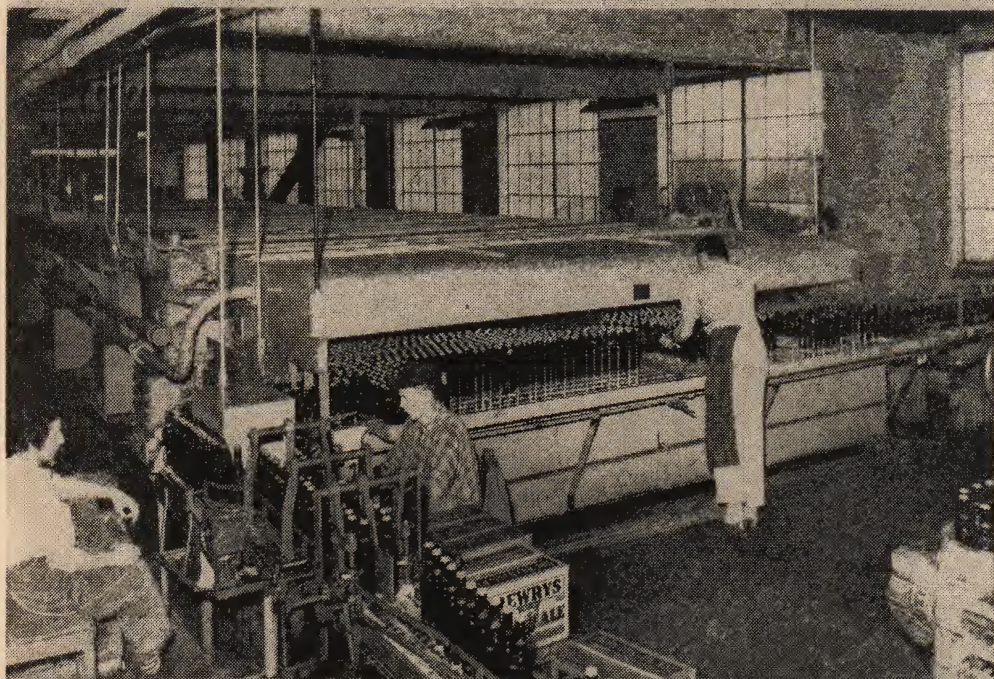
The only way the workers at Drewry's could remain by themselves would be as a branch local, according to the International constitution of the Brewery Workers, which the CIO publicity men ought to read some time. Or perhaps it might cramp their style.

(Continued on Page 6)



# WE DRINK DREWRY'S ALE

*Teamsters Make It*





But if they were in a branch local, they could not elect their own officers as the CIO publicity claims. They would not even have a business agent. They would have only a secretary and every act would be under the supervision of the parent body, which would be the local comprising the Kamm and Hoosier workers.

Here's what the Brewery Workers' constitution says about it, in Article IV:

**"Sec. 36. Branch unions are under the direct control of parent local unions. Payments of monthly dues and assessments must be made to the parent local union by the branch union."**

That means the branch local would not even have a treasury of its own. Its money would be paid over to the Kamm and Hoosier workers who probably need it because they have not been making the good wages that the Drewry's workers have.

And just to be sure that there is no misunderstanding about that, the Brewery Workers' International constitution says further under the same article:

**"Sec. 38. Branch unions shall elect a secretary whose duty it is to take care of the correspondence, conduct meetings, where meetings are held by the branch union, collect dues and assessments and turn over all moneys collected to the secretary of the parent local union."**

How could Drewry's workers elect their own officers and business agent as the CIO promises? The answer is they couldn't. They would have only one officer, a secretary, who would conduct their meetings, if they held any, which the constitution does not compel.

Again in the literature they handed out at Drewry's last month the CIO promised:

*"Here will be your opportunity to take part in an organization that is your own, and is for your interest alone, to attain better working conditions, job security, protection for all, fair grievance procedure provided in written contract and seniority rights."*

This says that the Drewry's workers, even if they were in a branch union with no

officers and no money, could write themselves a fine contract. But could they?

Let's look in the Brewery Workers' International constitution again. Here it is, right there in Article IV, which states:

**"Sec. 41. No branch union has the right to enter into contracts with employers without permission from the parent local union. Branch unions must see to it that contracts are strictly lived up to and any violation of the contract must be reported to the parent local union immediately."**

According to this, the Drewry's workers, if they were in this branch local the CIO is promoting, would be unable even to renew their old contract with Drewry's.

They would have to ask permission from the parent local, the Kamm and Hoosier workers. And after a contract was negotiated, the Drewry's workers could not enforce their own contract.

They would have to report violations to the Kamm and Hoosier workers and ask them to do something about it.

Inadvertently, no doubt, the CIO gave one accurate picture of what affiliation with the Brewery Workers would mean to Drewry's workers.

Their last bulletin was headed by the picture of a man falling from an airplane. He was heading for a terrific fall with a slack parachute. He was jumping from the high wages at Drewry's to the low wages at Kamm's and Hoosier's.

As a matter of truth, all the things promised by the CIO are already enjoyed by the Teamsters at Drewry's under the contract negotiated by the Teamsters. And many more.

As members of Local No. 364 of the Teamsters at South Bend, they have added advantages that the CIO doesn't promise, probably because no CIO contract in the country has them and they don't want to call the attention of the membership to these favorable conditions enjoyed by the Teamsters.

As members of Local No. 364, Drewry's workers have their own section and contribute only a fraction of the expense of maintaining the offices and business agents.



And their per capita tax to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is 66 per cent lower than it would be to the Brewery Workers' International.

Instead of having one business agent, which the CIO promises and which the constitution denies, the Drewry's workers have two business agents from Local No. 364 devoting special attention to their problems.

And more are always available if needed.

As President Walter E. Biggs of Local No. 364 told the Drewry's workers at a recent meeting at which their contract was being discussed:

"If the business agents of Local No. 364 are not enough, we can bring in many others from surrounding locals in Illinois and Indiana to handle any emergency that might confront you."

The tactics of the Brewery Workers' campaign in South Bend are not peculiar to that locality. They are general throughout the country and for that reason they are exposed here.

In Cleveland, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Newark the CIO is making promises which are impossible of fulfillment under the terms of the Brewery Workers' own constitution.

The promises are part of a huge hoax the CIO is attempting to perpetrate on the brewery employees of the nation. Their statements are outright lies.

They are relying on the new workers in the breweries to swallow these promises because they are unfamiliar with the way the Brewery Workers' Union operates.

The old-timers all remember. Every Teamster who was formerly a member of the Brewery Workers' Union smiles when he hears these promises because he knows they can't be done under the setup of the Brewery Workers' Union.

The old-timers remember the permit system under which they worked for years, paying union dues but denied the right of

union membership or union wages or union protection. A permit man could be fired any time for any reason.

That's how the Brewery Workers' Union got in solid with employers. They had two scales of pay—one for a minority of workers who belonged to the union and a lower one for the majority of workers classed as permit men. That saves employers a lot of money.

Under Teamster contracts there is one scale of pay and every regular worker is a member of the union and gets it. Partiality and discrimination have been eliminated.

The employees of Drewry's have been members of the Teamsters' Union since April, 1942, when they voted almost unanimously to leave the Brewery Workers.

Since then their wages have gone steadily upward while their conditions have improved.

If the CIO wants to do something for the brewery employees of South Bend and elsewhere, let them get them the same wages and conditions that the Teamsters have obtained.

Today the Brewery Workers' Union represents only a minority of the workers in its jurisdiction. This is because it has been unable to get them the high wages the Teamsters have.

And for that reason the Brewery Workers' Union is constantly growing smaller while the Teamsters' Union is growing larger.

The national membership of the Brewery Workers' Union last July was scarcely 40,000. Today it is probably 30,000. And by the time all the contracts under which brewery employees are working have expired, only the ciphers will remain in their membership figures.

Then the Brewery Workers' Union will have become a malodorous memory—a union that died because it failed in its basic duty of promoting the welfare of its members.

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A labor department statement asserts that about one in four or five employers still fails to pay the 40-cent-an-hour minimum wage required by law. In about eight years of enforcement of the federal Wage and Hour Law, \$100,000,000 has been recovered for 2,500,000 workers who were not paid the legal wage.

—The Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer.



# Keep Rent Control, Women Insist

## National Trade Union League Asks Labor to Act

**A**PPEAL for the support of labor to continue rent controls has been made by the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

The league has issued a bulletin reviewing the rent situation in Washington with

an analysis of several proposals that have been made to weaken or abolish all rent controls so that landlords could take the last nickel left in a worker's pockets, if he has a nickel left after buying his groceries.

The bulletin follows:

Legislation lifting rent ceilings or weakening federal enforcement of rent control is a threat to the welfare of the nation as long as the present acute housing shortage continues.

Although the well financed real estate lobby has been deluging the press, radio and Congress with propaganda, pressure from the people has thus far prevented Congress from passing any of the bills now before it to weaken or destroy rent control.

The National Fair Rent Committee, headed by ex-Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, has the job of coordinating the activities of labor, tenant and consumer groups that have sprung up all over the country.

Here are some of the most dangerous proposals now being considered:

1. Blanket rent increases of 10 or 15 per cent or more. It has been proved that landlords generally are in a much better financial position than they were before the war. Occupancy has been absolutely stable throughout the war and this has far more than compensated for increased costs of operation. Any individual hardship cases can and have been adjusted locally under the present law.

2. Turning rent control over to the states. This will inevitably put tremendous pressures on states with good laws and good enforcement and victimize tenants in states with weak laws. There is nothing to be gained by state control and it is being pushed exactly because it opens the way to no control.

3. Enforcement by the courts. This will

result in a wave of rent increases and of evictions. "It will be small consolation to the evicted family," says the National Women's Trade Union League statement to the National Fair Rent Committee, "that they will have the right to sue in the courts and perhaps obtain a judgment months after their eviction. Any effort to remove proper administration and enforcement of the law is nothing short of an effort to destroy it."

4. Removal of ceilings on new homes and apartments is designed to create such disparity between new and old homes that pressure for lifting all controls will be too strong to stop.

5. Local advisory committees. The most recent proposal gives local committees the power to grant blanket increases and even to lift all controls. The housing shortage exists in every area and lifting controls anywhere will threaten controls everywhere. Advisory committees should serve only to adjust individual hardship cases.

Now that OPA is doomed for want of funds, rent control and enforcement should be put under one of the permanent agencies or under the executive offices of the President—but any proposals which separate administration from enforcement of the law are dangerous.

Hearings are being held in the House of Representatives on the Wolcott Bill (H. R. 2549). This bill is doubly dangerous because it not only destroys rent control but repeals the Patman Act, the last foothold of the veterans' housing program. This bill leaves all enforcement to the courts. It even



abolishes the waiting period on evictions. In the Senate no bill has as yet been agreed upon.

Write or wire your *support* of the Wagner-Murray rent control bill (S. 528) which continues control "as is" for another year,

and your *opposition* to the Wolcott bill to Senator Charles W. Tobey, chairman, Senate banking and currency committee, and to Representative Jesse P. Wolcott, chairman, House banking and currency committee, and your own senators and congressmen.

## Teamsters Triumph in California

### Seven More Breweries Come Under AFL Banner

**S**EVEN more breweries came under the banner of the Teamsters' Union in California last month following closely a victory in two plants in New Jersey.

In New Jersey the Teamsters won a National Labor Relations Board election over the Brewery Workers by a vote of 2½ to 1 and in California the margin of victory was even greater. It was 4½ to 1.

Just prior to the New Jersey victory the Teamsters had taken over 11 breweries in Pennsylvania and are now campaigning for breweries in Massachusetts, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota and Connecticut.

The nation-wide conflict with the Brewery Workers' International Union followed a declaration of war by its last convention in Galveston in September. At that time the Brewery Workers' convention voted not to load any trucks driven by Teamsters.

This ended amicable relations in many parts of the country where the Brewery Workers' Union had the inside workers and the Teamsters had the drivers. It left the Teamsters the choice of surrendering the drivers or going after the inside workers. They chose the latter course to protect their drivers.

The campaign has achieved pronounced success because of the uniformly higher wage scales enjoyed by the men working under Teamster contracts.

Faced with a choice between one union offering low wages and another offering high wages, the workers naturally choose the high wages, which means the Teamsters.

A full account of the victory in California and its background is contained in the April 4 edition of *The Washington Teamster*, the official publication of Joint Council No. 28 of Seattle. It follows:

For the second time in six months, the Teamsters' Union administered a smashing defeat to CIO raiders when they defeated that dual organization in an election covering brewers, bottlers, checkers and drivers in the breweries of southern California last week. The vote was 4½ to 1 for the Teamsters.

The Teamsters defeated the CIO raiders last September in an election affecting 90,000 workers employed in the canneries of northern California.

The election, which was conducted by the NLRB in plants of southern California from Los Angeles to San Diego, was a stunning surprise to the raiders, who had claimed

for weeks to have a majority of the workers lined up.

It is now indicated, according to latest word from California, that the dual organization will probably fold up and not even attempt to go through with an election in northern California.

After nearly ten months of agitation, threats and the wildest sort of promises, the CIO failed even to make it a contest in southern California breweries, despite the fact that they established picket lines around all the plants.

The weakness of the CIO and its plain inability to help the inside brewery workers in any way was demonstrated in what was



supposed to be a test of the Commie strength. The plants continued to operate on a 100 per cent production and distribution schedule, making the threats of the CIO to close the plants nothing but a joke.

That the best interests of the brewery workers were with the Teamsters' Union was proven. The Teamsters had set up a contract which is regarded as one of the best in the entire industry. Wages, hours of employment, and working conditions are splendid—far better than the standards which prevail in breweries of the East, where CIO raiders still hold control.

The brewery workers of southern California, in addition to voting for the AFL Teamsters by a huge majority, have urged their fellow workers throughout the country to follow their lead and get into a union that can do them some real good and that has the strength and the Americanism to back them up.

The wierd propaganda used by the CIO raiders, the threats made to workers, the blatant claims and promises, and the viciously bitter attacks on all AFL Teamster leaders, had little influence with the brewery workers and drivers.

In the long campaign of vilification and attempted coercion, the raiders made use of all the best known Communist weapons of slander and character assassination. They made such a noise that the completeness of the victory and the solid front repudiation

of the CIO by the brewery workers and drivers, all of whom voiced their choice, caused surprise in the press.

Many of the brewery workers who had been threatened and even attacked and roughed up by the CIO pickets, expressed their sentiment against the high pressure methods and urged support of the AFL Teamsters.

Officials of the brewery workers and drivers declare the workers voted for the Teamsters because they essentially want a union to represent them from the agricultural handling of materials right through the plants to the ice boxes of the consumers.

The official tally of the vote was: Teamsters, 817; CIO, 182; one vote void and one vote challenged. The CIO continued its picket line on election day, but did not stop operations or delivery for a single instant.

The result of this victory places the brewery workers and drivers, in all classifications, within the Teamsters' Union throughout the entire coast region. These workers joined the Teamsters in Washington and Oregon several years ago.

All California beer is now produced by AFL Teamsters' Union members.

The struggle of the brewery workers to get rid of the dual, leftwing control of the CIO in some eastern cities still goes on, though scores of plants and cities have come over to the Teamsters, and the Teamsters are making steady gains all along the line.

## Labor Support Carried Chicago for Democrats

United labor support was the deciding factor in the overwhelming victory of Democrat Martin H. Kennelly as Chicago's new mayor.

Mr. Kennelly's landslide plurality of more than 273,000 votes in the April 1 election upset the strong bid for control of the city by *Chicago Tribune* Publisher Robert R. McCormick and Republican Governor Dwight Green, who backed the candidacy of Russell W. Root.

Labor leaders congratulated Mr. Kennelly on his success and his interpretation of the balloting as "a commission from the people."

The Democratic candidate had the personal backing of more than 150 top leaders of the city's unions.

Contributing to the Republican defeat was the fire directed at Green in connection with the state administration's negligence in the recent Centralia mine disaster.

The crushing defeat of the GOP ticket was also seen as a blow to Green's national political ambitions and his bid for an important place on the Republican national ticket in 1948. The city election also resulted in the victory of nine labor indorsed councilmen to the 50-man city council.

—*Federated Press.*



# Meany Scores Republicans, NAM

## Demands Defeat of Hartley Labor Bill in Congress

By GEORGE MEANY

*On April 17, the House passed the Hartley anti-labor bill discussed in this article by a vote of 308 to 107. Next month we will print the roll call on this crucial measure.*

OUR nation is the strongest in the world. We are strong for a number of reasons, but the No. 1 reason for our strength is that we are a nation of free men.

America's strength and the fact that we are the symbol of liberty to the peoples of the whole world have combined to give us a position of world leadership. We have served notice that we stand for freedom not only here at home but also for liberty, democracy and the right of governments and peoples everywhere to be protected against the enslavement of totalitarianism.

Today there is serious danger of America's position as the champion and bulwark of freedom being undermined through action of our own Congress. This would be the inevitable effect if Congress were to pass the labor legislation now proposed by the majority party in the House of Representatives.

The bill I refer to is one which has been approved by the Republican Policy Committee of the House. This measure emanates from the House Labor Committee and is being called the Hartley bill. The bill should be known as the National Association of Manufacturers' bill, which in fact it is.

The Hartley-NAM bill now before the House of Representatives is designed to bring about the destruction of free trade unionism in our country. It proposes to achieve this nefarious purpose by enacting into law the program adopted by the National Association of Manufacturers last December.

The Hartley bill would definitely effectuate the NAM program. For example, the NAM urged that "the protection of law

should be extended to strikers only when the majority of employees in the bargaining unit, by secret ballot under impartial supervision, have voted for a strike *in preference to acceptance of the latest offer of the employer.*" The Hartley bill accepts this proposal in toto—in fact, almost word for word.

This situation prevails all through the bill. Throughout the 68 pages of the Hartley bill we find the ideas and the very language of the NAM's anti-labor program lifted bodily and incorporated into the bill.

There can be no doubt on this score. The committee minority has stated quite definitely, and I quote:

"During the period of the hearings the representatives of the NAM, working behind the scenes, were writing the legislation."

This quote refers to the so-called Hartley bill, now fraudulently offered as the brainchild of Mr. Hartley himself and his fellow committeemen of the majority.

The NAM is evidently not concerned with the world position of the United States of America. The NAM is clearly not disturbed that enslavement of the plain citizens of America would destroy our nation's position as the standard bearer of freedom in the effort to halt the further expansion of Communism.

The NAM doesn't seem to care about anything except profits, more profits, and still more profits. Last year the corporations of America as a whole made far more money than in the highly profitable war years; but the NAM wants *more*, and this bill is designed to achieve that greedy objective at the expense of the nation's workers.

Our government has adopted a policy of



preventing the spread of Communist influence abroad and at home. It has been announced and reiterated that the Administration is determined to carry out this policy in an effective manner. The overwhelming majority of the American people are in complete sympathy with this program of the government. Most Americans have no use whatsoever for the hateful tenets of Communism or any other form of totalitarianism.

This anti-Communist program will be torpedoed if the Hartley bill is enacted into law. American workers will not cheerfully accept any statute which compels them to work against their will. They will resent and resist such a flagrant violation by Congress of the Constitution of the United States—in particular, the 13th Amendment, which forbids involuntary servitude.

This bill will bring more recruits into the ranks of those opposed to the American way of life than the Communist Party of the United States has been able to enroll in thirty years.

Communism thrives on chaos, disorder and oppression, and this bill—sponsored and written by attorneys for greedy anti-labor employers—will surely bring about chaos, disorder and oppression.

At a time when our nonpartisan foreign policy is directed toward making America a vital influence on the side of human liberty in world affairs, it is little short of criminal to create a condition here at home that will render our nation completely impotent as a world power. A nation torn asunder by internal strife cannot exercise leadership in world affairs.

This measure, if enacted into law, will weaken our internal economy to the point where America can no longer command respect in its dealings with the other nations of the world. This would do doubt please Molotov and Stalin. This is what the Communist Party and the actual and mental foreigners who are associated with it would most ardently desire. Henry Wallace would giggle with glee.

Mr. Hartley and many of our "big business" newspapers state that anti-labor legislation must be enacted by this Congress

because of a so-called "mandate from the people." It is claimed that the November election results constituted a mandate to clamp handcuffs and a strait-jacket on the American wage earner.

There is not a particle of truth to any such claim.

The fact is that last year's election mandate was to eliminate bureaucracy, to wipe out regimentation. It was a protest against high prices and administrative failures in price control. It was a protest against the very bureaucracy and regimentation that this legislation would bring about.

It was a protest against the failure of Congress to pass bipartisan housing legislation so people could have a roof over their heads. It was a protest against the complete inability of Congress and the OPA to do anything when the country's meat producers went on strike against the American people. Those were the issues involved in the election last November.

It seems strange to see leaders of a party which has been assailing regimentation for fourteen long years now advocating regimentation for the 40,000,000 wage earners of the nation.

Those politicians who are now attempting to put America's workers in a strait-jacket of legal restrictions that would virtually chain them to the work bench forget one very important thing—the American worker's love of liberty. They forget that the free workers of our nation out-produced the slaves of totalitarianism. They forget, above all, that even if this NAM bill was enforceable, it still would not help production.

Perhaps the NAM and its congressional agents might even succeed, through the brutal methods of totalitarianism, in making slaves of America's workers. But what good would that do for the NAM and its constituent corporations, interested as they are solely in greater and ever greater profits? They would find their profits not enhanced but reduced.

The American worker would not produce much if he were deprived of his freedom. The NAM and its agents would find out, as



the dictators have found out, that forced labor is not productive labor.

The results that the authors of this bill desire to achieve are best described by a statement issued by Congressman Lesinski, speaking for the minority:

"This bill would return us to the dark ages of labor exploitation. It is only the beginning. After the unions are broken and split and formed into a Labor Front for exploitation, then we will see the return of child labor. Small boys will once more be fed into the mines. Young girls will sweat in the garment shops. Cheap labor will be achieved. The yellow-dog contract will reappear. The blacklist will once more become a weapon against the livelihood of the worker."

Thus states a group of congressmen who are aware of the real purposes behind the program of Mr. Hartley and those whose interests he represents.

If it were possible for American labor on the one side and the profit-greedy employers and their spokesmen in Congress on the other side to battle this out for the next two or three years, we could perhaps afford to suffer the chaos and disorder that would result. It would perhaps be worth while, in the long run, to let this internal battle take place—even with all the suffering it might entail—in order to clear up once and for all in the minds of the employers and their agents the question of whether or not American workers are by right entitled to maintain free trade unions for their own benefit and protection.

But unfortunately we cannot build a wall around America for the next two or three years and indulge in a private fight of this kind. The world in 1947 is looking to America for leadership. America can furnish that leadership only by remaining strong. America cannot remain strong if it is torn asunder by the bitter strife which will surely ensue if the Hartley bill becomes law.

The legislative theory behind this measure, if it can be dignified by conceding that it is the result of any legislative theory, seems to be that the key to industrial peace in this country is the weakening and ultimate destruction of trade unions. Unions

are all right if they can be rendered so weak that they can no longer carry out their obligations to the worker. The worker is to be protected in this bill by the destruction of his union.

Well, I am sure that the American worker is not going to suffer his union to be destroyed. He knows that the high standard of life enjoyed by the wage earners of America did not come as a gift from the employer. He knows that he is the best paid, best housed and best clothed worker in the world because of his right to maintain free trade unions as an instrument to achieving a better life.

I am sure America's workers will fight to retain these rights because, in the final analysis, their destruction means the destruction of our form of free society.

There is one aspect of this anti-labor proposal that is perhaps more disturbing than any other. This is the political aspect.

The American wage-earner has been told over and over again down through the years that the Republican Party was the party of privilege, of profit—the party of Wall Street and the big corporations. The American worker has hesitated to believe these charges because he was convinced that this was the one country in the world where the class struggle could not be a national political issue.

But when we scrutinize the origin of this vicious anti-labor proposal, when we hear the paid spokesmen for big business strongly urging its passage on the air, when we see the large corporations using the power that comes with a swollen treasury proposing its restrictions through full-page advertisements in our daily press, when we see and hear all these things and then, in addition, hear the official spokesmen for the Republican membership in the House of Representatives not only endorsing this bill but boasting of their ability to enact it into law, we wonder if the class struggle is about to shift from the economic to the political field.

For nearly three-quarters of a century the American Federation of Labor has maintained itself as a strictly nonpartisan organization—representing workers as



workers, not as pawns in a political game. I am sure that our organization desires to continue as such.

In the face of the political aspects of this proposal to destroy trade unionism, the question arises as to whether or not we will

be compelled by force of circumstances to revise our basic position in order to protect the future of the wage earners of our country who in themselves constitute the vast national wealth of which Americans so often boast.

# Teachers Have Business Worried

## Big Industrial Publishers Urge Wage Increases

**I**T APPEARS that after all these years, business is going to do something for the school teachers. At least it is offering them a bit of pleasant conversation.

The conversation comes from the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, one of the bright faced altar boys of rugged free enterprise. This company publishes an impressive array of some 28 trade journals for American industry.

It circulates its editorials liberally throughout the country to labor papers and the commercial press, offering their use for republication "with or without credit mention."

So far, we have found little to quote except as a horrible example of the mental processes of American business.

The most recent editorial broadcast by McGraw-Hill is worthy of attention, even though it came late as a final desperate admission that something had to be done about the school teachers.

We take some credit for inspiring that belated and desperate gesture. The editorial sounds like a direct reply to one we carried on the inside back cover of our March issue.

Our editorial said that the teachers were disillusioned by the hostility of business and were turning to labor to combat the organized pressure of business to keep teachers' wages down.

We cited the domination of school boards by business men and the financing of taxpayers' organizations by business interests primarily concerned with economy rather than excellence in public education.

That, as we say, was in March. In April, after a few preliminary convulsions, busi-

ness has apparently climbed on the band wagon to keep teachers out of organized labor.

"Let us raise your pay," it says in effect. To that we subscribe. If business had done it in the first place, we wouldn't be yelling our heads off about it. It wouldn't be necessary.

We are primarily interested in the preservation of the public school system as the foundation of American democracy. It is being destroyed by the penurious practices of business which have driven 350,000 school teachers out of their profession and crowded millions of children into creaking old firetraps.

The McGraw-Hill Publishing Company now accepts our premise.

And it solemnly warns business that Communist Russia is spending twice as much of its national income for education as the United States is. Very interesting. If anybody else had said that, we would have challenged it. But we know that is something McGraw-Hill would be the last to exaggerate.

"That comparison is really something to worry about," states the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company. "The figures compared include our expenditures for both public and private education."

Some other things in that editorial are worthy of circulation. We hereby mention them with credit, but without further discussion of motive.

Read our March editorial, then read the following and draw your own conclusions:

"This is an appeal to raise school teachers' salaries—fast. Such appeals are com-



monly addressed, rather vaguely, to the conscience of the community. This one is not. It is addressed directly to the business community, and to its hard core of common sense.

"Teachers' strikes and the rapid growth of unionism among teachers at present clearly indicate what is in store.

"Many business men are so deeply disturbed by the resort to the strike weapon by some teachers to enforce their salary demands that their sympathy for the general plight of our teachers tends to be dulled. Such an attitude is understandable. It avails nothing, however, in eliminating the crisis in education caused largely by teachers' salary troubles.

"The crisis in education is a crisis for the nation as a whole. The work of our schools, colleges and libraries is such that its deterioration means deterioration of the nation. However, the salary crisis in education is in special measure a crisis for the business community. That community has a special stake in having a well educated and well disposed constituency.

"There may be room for disagreement as to whether teachers should organize themselves into trade unions and follow trade union tactics.

"However, there is no conceivable room

for disagreement as to whether organization of teachers into a fighting economic pressure group under the lash of a teachers' salary crisis would be a body blow to business.

"Among many teachers it would foster an abiding hostility to the institution of business which, occupying a key position in the life of the community, had not done its utmost to make such unionization unnecessary by taking a lead in relieving the teachers' salary crisis.

"In our work of publishing technical periodicals and textbooks, we at McGraw-Hill meet and come to know many teachers and librarians. We know that, as a group, they have little appetite for participation in militant economic pressure groups.

"They are far more interested in making a militant assault on ignorance and prejudice through concentration on their professional work.

"If, through neglect of their economic needs by the business community, they feel forced to resort to trade union organization and tactics, the teachers and librarians can be expected to have an abiding resentment toward the institution of business.

"That resentment will, in turn, be communicated in no small measure to the coming generation. Such is the nature of the educational process."

## Molders Approve Teachers' Strikes

Thanks for the strikes which the school teachers have been staging for us all over the country the last few months. If they help us to realize the condition our school system is in, and spur us on to do something to save it from ruin, these strikes will prove to be a blessing in disguise.

These strikes did not have to be defended. The whole country could see the justice of the teachers refusing to go any further without some relief. No reasonable persons condemn them because they know that every other means had been used to get something done without avail.

The National Education Association estimates that 350,000 qualified teachers have

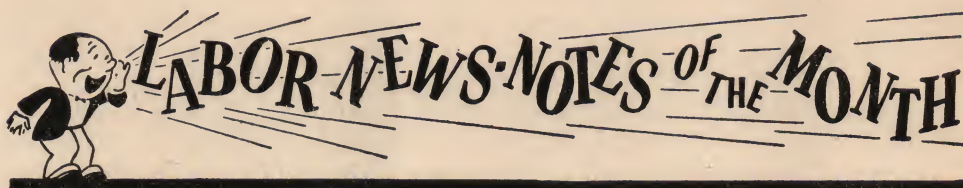
quit their school jobs to take other employment at higher pay the last six years. If they keep leaving at this rate, with fewer preparing themselves for teaching each year, you can see what will become of our public school system in a short time.

There is only one remedy for this condition. That is to make teachers' salaries attractive.

There has been a bill before Congress for more than two years that would give aid to our schools, but Congress only acts for the common good when forced to do so by public opinion. Labor's share in public opinion is considerable. Let's continue to use it!—*International Molders' Journal*.

We can't recall any positive action the NAM has ever taken in the public interest.—*Trainman News*.





# LABOR NEWS NOTES OF THE MONTH

*From the Federated Press*

AUSTIN, TEX.—Gov. Beauford Jester signed an anti-closed shop bill April 9, making Texas the 12th state to restore the rule of the open shop. The Texas House had previously blocked a bill which would have outlawed the closed shop through a constitutional amendment, requiring a state-wide referendum. Other states with closed shop bans on their books are: Arkansas, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee and Virginia.

DOVER, DEL.—Delaware's reactionary Republican legislature has passed a bill which prohibits the closed shop, bans mass picketing and outlaws jurisdictional strikes in the state. The bill was signed by Gov. Walter W. Bason within minutes after it was approved in both houses.

CENTRALIA, ILL.—An Illinois state coal mine inspector risked his political neck April 3 to tell the Senate public lands subcommittee that the 111 miners killed in the Centralia No. 5 mine disaster would be "walking the street tonight" had his safety recommendations not been ignored by the operators and his superiors.

WASHINGTON—President Truman told his news conference April 10 he expected Senator Claude Pepper and Henry Wallace to support the Democratic ticket in 1948. He had no desire, President Truman said, to read anyone out of the party, as had been suggested by Democratic Party Chairman Gael Sullivan.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.—T. R. Cuthbert, editor of the *Chattanooga Labor World*, and two AFL officials were arrested here April 2 on charges of violating Tennessee's anti-closed shop law, first step in testing the constitutionality of the new legislation.

BOSTON—The Republican-controlled legislature has passed a bill allowing women and minors to work in textile and leather plants till 11 p. m. instead of having to quit at 6 p. m.

WASHINGTON—The Senate confirmed David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission April 9 by a 50-31 vote after a months-long battle marked by wild charges and mud slinging. Confirmation had been assured after a motion to send the nomination back to committee had been defeated April 3, 52 to 38.

PORTLAND ORE.—"We don't want the public to restrict its use of the telephones because this helps management. A restriction in the use of facilities lightens the burden which our walkout has placed on the company." That was the advice handed out here by Plant Unit Chairman W. H. Sammler of the Union of Telephone Employees of Oregon.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Ignoring labor requests for a veto, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey signed into law here a bill outlawing strikes by public employees and imposing severe penalties on violators.

KANSAS CITY, MO.—Employees of 16 wholesale paper firms here won 16¢ hourly raises in a new contract by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

SEATTLE—Homeless veterans who are told to blame labor for high building costs will be interested to know that fir lumber wholesale prices have risen 93 per cent more than wages.



JEFFERSON CITY, MO.—The House of Representatives here has defeated a public housing bill which would have enabled Kansas City and St. Louis to tear down slums and create public housing projects free of taxation. The bill would have given priority to veterans of World War II. Opponents of the bill, spearheaded by real estate interests, assailed the measure as "socialistic."

DETROIT—Bowling to the U. S. supreme court the Packard Motor Car Co. is finally negotiating with the Foreman's Association of America on a complete contract. The foremen ask raises of \$90, \$95 and \$100 a month for the three classifications of general foreman, foreman and assistant foreman.

WASHINGTON—The Department of Labor is the one agency of the federal government designed to promote the welfare of the American wage earner, AFL President William Green said April 14 in leading a group of witnesses urging a Senate appropriations subcommittee to restore cuts made by the House in the Labor, NLRB and Federal Security Agency budgets.

MILWAUKEE—A call for joint action by all sections of organized labor to fight anti-union legislation was overwhelmingly approved by delegates to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance (AFL) convention here.

SAN FRANCISCO—In a decision which may rule out sympathy strikes on the west coast, Superior Judge George Schonfeld held that refusal of 25 CIO warehousemen to cross an AFL Pharmacists' Union picket line was a violation of their contract with the Rexall Co. and ordered them back to work.

WASHINGTON—The Republican majority in the House set the stage for passage of the Hartley anti-labor bill (H. R. 3020) by circulating a leaflet on the floor describing it as "Labor's New Bill of Rights."

NEWARK, N. J.—Three women leaders of 12,000 striking New Jersey phone operators were arrested April 11 as a major court test of the state's new drastic public utility anti-strike law got under way.

DENVER—Construction subcontractors are being blacklisted by the Denver Association of Home Builders for signing agreements at a new wage scale with AFL building trades' unions here. The main contractors have refused to sign up with the unions, whose contracts expired April 1.

KANSAS CITY, MO.—Threat of a \$2,000 fine by the Contractors' Association is keeping many builders here from reaching agreement with the AFL Building & Construction Trades' Council over a 25¢ hourly wage increase demand.

WASHINGTON—United Mine Workers returned to work in some 600 government-operated bituminous coal mines April 8 following a stoppage to emphasize the union's demand that mine operators be held to strict observance of the federal mine safety code.

WASHINGTON—Prices must be forced down to a reasonable level before there is an economic crash bringing mass unemployment to America, AFL President William Green said in urging President Truman and Congress "to do everything in their power to halt and reverse the rising price trend."

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Major responsibility for the blast in which 111 miners lost their lives March 25 was pinned on the Centralia Coal Co. by a special state inquiry committee report on April 11. The seven-man committee, set up by Governor Dwight H. Green to sidetrack criticism of his own role in the mine disaster, also pointed an accusing finger at the governor's state mining board for its "weak, ineffectual and indifferent" safety policy.



# Minneapolis Writes Its History

## Milk Drivers Publish Account of Their Struggles

**M**OST men, when they join a union, do not realize the sacrifices that have been made to obtain the privileges and benefits they accept as a matter of course.

Neither do they realize that it was only after years of struggle that the unions established the wage scales and the working conditions the new members acquire automatically with their membership cards.

Many new members become impatient over trivial irritations with their jobs and cannot understand why many older members advise deliberation and urge further efforts at conciliation before approving strike action.

The older men know from bitter experience that strikes mean hardships and suffering and that a strike is just as likely to be lost as to be won. So they proceed carefully and try to adjust differences amicably through conferences.

Local No. 471 of Minneapolis is taking steps to see that its new members learn, and

its old members recall, the history of organizing the dairy industry in that city.

Secretary-Treasurer Gene Larson announces that the union is publishing a booklet reciting the details of organizing the union in 1912 and summarizing some of the most important meetings it has held in the 35 years of its existence.

Mr. Larson declares that the booklet will also contain a brief history of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the American Federation of Labor.

It is a splendid idea and one that should be followed by other locals in all parts of the country. As men learn the history of their union and the progress working men have made through it, they will understand what they have to lose when hostile employers and politicians attempt to destroy the standard of living the unions have created.

The following excerpts from the history of Local No. 471 tell a story that should bring pride to the heart of every member.

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Prior to the year 1912, workers employed in the dairy industry in Minneapolis worked 12 to 15 hours per day, seven days per week, and 52 weeks per year, receiving \$60 per month, or about 20 cents per hour. They had no vacation time, not even an occasional "off day," unless at the pleasure of the boss.

The threat of losing their job was a constant menace hanging over their heads. Many a time an employee, not particularly liked by his employer, was compelled to pay for products lost or accidentally destroyed, and there was nothing he could do about it.

Drivers had to stand good for bad accounts or money owed by customers who changed their residence without letting the driver know the new address. They had to report at the plant at 2 a. m., feed and

clean their horses and then load their wagons, leaving the plant not later than 3 a. m. because the employer insisted that all customers had to be served before children started off for school. Then the driver had to cover his route the second time, collecting empty bottles and cash, also, serving all wholesale customers, returning to the plant as late as 5 p. m.

During the winter months, kerosene stoves were used in wagons to keep milk from freezing, and kerosene lanterns were used by drivers to find their way around.

On the 20th of each month, the \$60 salary for the previous month would be paid, but very few realized the thrill of receiving the full \$60, because they had to continuously ask for money between pay days, for food, fuel, and shelter.



If sickness set in, there would be no income of any kind, and grocery, fuel and rent bills piled up to be paid later, or garnishment would follow. It can readily be seen that the dairy workers were merely slaves in those days to a deplorable economic system, working long hours every day of the year and not home long enough to even get acquainted with their families.

It was then that, in desperation, a few courageous men decided to form a union, realizing that only if the workers banded together, demanding better wages and working conditions, could they hope to ascend from their plight to free and self respecting workers, with enough compensation to feed their families properly and to have some time off for rest and recreation.

These men worked for the Minneapolis Milk Company as drivers, and called a meeting of the drivers they felt could be trusted. This meeting was held on September 24, 1912.

Thirty-one men signed a written statement that they wished to establish a union and each paid a fee of \$1.

During its first year of existence, the union met regularly every week, and at each meeting new members enrolled. In addition to the regular weekly meetings, the union held an open meeting each month, inviting the wives of members and also prospective members.

John Geary, International vice president, devoted a great deal of his time in assisting the new local, and was present at nearly all meetings, and his experienced judgment was relied upon by the local union when making difficult decisions.

Gratitude and appreciation of Brother Geary's efforts on behalf of Local No. 471 should be a tribute to his memory by all members of our organization. He passed away on April 2, 1942.

March 16, 1915—The membership took action placing a full time business agent on the union payroll. Al Peterson was elected by a secret ballot and became the first full time secretary-treasurer and business agent of Local No. 471.

Prior to this action, Ed Solem had been on the union payroll as a part time em-

ployee, and most of the time, due to the local having no money, received no compensation for his services.

Brother Solem did a very good and unselfish job during that time. He was employed at the Minneapolis Milk Company, pulling Route No. 7. After his work at his plant was finished, he would call at the other plants, collecting dues and handling grievances. It was indeed a regular occurrence to see Ed riding his bicycle from plant to plant. His is another name to be remembered by Local No. 471.

September 7, 1919—There was another special meeting and the committee reported that employers were willing to sign a contract, leaving the matter of a closed shop and wages to a board of arbitration. Members approved this action.

September 13, 1919—Special meeting with committee reporting that the employers had withdrawn their offer to sign a contract and ordered a lockout. From then on, the situation grew steadily worse.

November 11, 1919—A special meeting was called for the purpose of making a final disposition of whether or not Local No. 471 should establish a cooperative creamery in order to break the lockout by the employers, thus providing jobs for members walking the streets in search of work, only to learn that no one would hire them because they were on the blacklist of all employers in Minneapolis, and not only in the dairy industry.

This historic meeting was another milestone in the dairy workers march on the road to security, and should be known and remembered by all members of Local No. 471. President Clifford Sherman presided. One speaker was Brother Latimer, who later became Mayor of Minneapolis, and who explained how to proceed to incorporate a cooperative association under the laws of the State of Minnesota. He urged those present to proceed immediately, because it was their only salvation, in their particular situation, to provide jobs for those who had been placed on the employers' blacklist because of their strike activities.

The membership then proceeded with action calling for the establishment of a



cooperative creamery, and a board of directors was elected. Before the meeting adjourned, all present had signed pledges to purchase stock and to solicit others to buy same.

This was the beginning of the end of the employer's lockout in the dairy industry. The sale of stock by Local No. 471 for a cooperative creamery was received enthusiastically by the consumer, and the sales grew larger and larger every day.

In a few months, wagons were on Minneapolis streets and the business grew steadily and today this cooperative creamery is the largest distributor of dairy products in Minneapolis.

From then on the situation in the indus-

try grew better. Of course, each time the employees asked for increased wages, there would be the usual objections from the old time employers. In 1931 a price war in the industry brought wages from \$32.50 down to \$27 per week.

However, since that time, Local No. 471 has recovered what was lost in wages during that period, and has also steadily improved wages and conditions in the industry. A short strike of three days' duration took place in the industry in 1941. To make an appraisal of the value of Local No. 471 to the workers now in the industry and to those who seek employment in the future, compare the wages and working conditions of 1912 with those of today.

## Bulwinkle Bill Builds Rail Monopoly

The anti-trust laws would be seriously weakened and monopoly would be strengthened if Congress were to pass the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire said in a minority report of the Senate commerce committee, which approved the bill.

The Reed measure exempts railroads and other carriers from prosecution under the anti-trust laws for agreeing among themselves what to charge for freight and passenger service. It comes before the Senate shortly. Granting this exemption, said Senator Tobey, would set a dangerous precedent, "encouraging other powerful groups to seek legislation immunizing them from established laws and the power of the courts to enforce them.

"Cartelization of the transportation in-

dustry cannot be isolated from the national economy. Transportation costs are a major element in determining the price of goods in other industries. The power to control the cost of transportation is a power which may be used to dictate whether other businesses shall enjoy competitive success or be stifled to death."

He said the big carriers would dominate the rate-fixing conferences as in the past and powerful manufacturers and financial interests could deal with the transport giants to fix rates that would kill off new competitors and perpetuate monopoly.

"The sole purpose of this bill is to remove the legal restraints against monopoly inherent in militant enforcement of the anti-trust laws," Senator Tobey said.

—*Federated Press.*

Any local union which did not receive credentials by May 1, 1947, to the International convention to be held in San Francisco, California, in August of this year, should contact the general secretary-treasurer immediately. However, the Local Union should make this contact *only* if it is felt that a justifiable claim for convention representation exists.

JOHN F. ENGLISH,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.



# Pittsburgh Beer Lockout Settled

## Teamsters Regain Jobs After Tobin-Murray Meeting

**F**OLLOWING a conference between President Tobin and President Philip Murray of the CIO, the six-months brewery lockout in Pittsburgh was settled last month.

Notwithstanding the keyhole account of a New York syndicated "labor columnist," the conference between Mr. Tobin and Mr. Murray was friendly and successful.

The New York columnist said that "they told each other off as only a former miner and former truck driver can do." He pictured them as a couple of bums cursing each other.

The newspaper statement was false, as the columnist would have known if he had the confidence of labor leaders that he claims to have.

Mr. Murray and Mr. Tobin spent the greater part of a day together in Mr. Tobin's hotel room in Pittsburgh. Mr. Tobin had been in Philadelphia and stopped off on his return trip to Indianapolis to meet the CIO leader.

Mr. Tobin was accompanied by his executive assistant, Thomas E. Flynn, and by International Organizers Nicholas P. Morrissey of Boston and Albert O. Dietrich of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Murray was accompanied by two of his subordinates.

Mr. Murray and Mr. Tobin were in fundamental agreement from the start. It was evident that Mr. Murray did not know of the tactics employed by his subordinates in the brewery lockout.

It was also evident that he was most anxious to settle the controversy as quickly as possible, contrary to false reports in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* that he "threw cold water on the idea."

It was this same newspaper that also reported falsely that Mr. Dietrich had been disciplined by Mr. Tobin for his actions in the dispute with the Brewery Workers.

These reports from the New York columnist and the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*

reveal the biased attitude of many newspapers. While demanding that labor settle its internal differences, they do everything possible to prevent such settlement by prejudicial and untrue accounts of negotiations.

Like Mr. Murray, Mr. Tobin was also anxious to settle the controversy—on any basis that would protect the men in the Pittsburgh breweries who had joined the Teamsters and the beer distributors who had lived up to their contracts with the Teamsters by refusing to handle the unfair beer.

Both leaders realized that the dispute was providing enemies of labor in Congress with arguments in support of drastic restrictive legislation.

In fact, the meeting between Mr. Tobin and Mr. Murray occurred just before the trial of the demand for an injunction against the Teamsters by the Pittsburgh breweries.

"We don't want to see an injunction issued against the Teamsters," Mr. Murray said. "I don't believe in injunctions and such an injunction would set a bad precedent for labor."

The injunction would have restrained the Teamsters from picketing the Pittsburgh breweries and interfering with the distribution of their beer.

The outcome of the conference was that Mr. Murray and Mr. Tobin each delegated complete power to two subordinates to settle the dispute. In addition to the authority, they were given instructions to terminate it speedily. Mr. Morrissey and Mr. Dietrich represented the Teamsters.

In about a week the terms of settlement were reached and the dispute ended in the midst of the injunction trial, which thereupon was dropped.

Under the terms of agreement, the breweries agreed to rehire at once 140 bottlers who had been picketing the breweries since



October 7. They agreed to rehire some 25 additional men as soon as jobs became available.

Pending the rehiring of the 25 men, other locals of the Teamsters in Pittsburgh agreed to give them work.

The breweries also agreed not to discriminate against any distributor who had refused to handle their beer during the dispute.

The Teamsters agreed to abandon all picketing and boycotts for the life of the existing contract, which was hastily renewed for two years by the Brewery Workers on the eve of the Murray-Tobin meeting.

According to the provisions reported in this contract, it is an amazing document. It permits the employers to reopen the contract to negotiate LOWER wages.

This indicates the desperation of the Brewery Workers. They were willing to agree to anything to escape the defeat that faced them.

The breweries knew that and they drove a hard bargain. But the Brewery Workers prefer to have members working for less pay than to have no members at all, an alternative that is confronting them all over the country.

Lacking the power to negotiate a good contract, they accepted a poor contract.

Therefore the Brewery Workers of Pittsburgh face the prospect of a reduction of wages during the life of their two-year contract.

We predict that by the time that contract expires, all the Brewery Workers of Pittsburgh will vote to join the Teamsters with the same unanimity that the bottlers showed when they affiliated last summer.

It was that affiliation which caused the breweries, in cooperation with the Brewery Workers' Union, to lock out the Teamsters.

They are back at work now. We have agreed to an armistice. When that armistice expires, the Teamsters will petition for an election in the breweries so that the employees may select a union that provides higher, not lower, wages.

There is nothing in the terms of the armistice that prevents the Teamsters from accepting membership from any or all employees of the Pittsburgh breweries, or from soliciting such membership.

To the loyal employees of the Pittsburgh breweries and to the Teamster leaders in Pittsburgh, the International expresses its appreciation for a hard fight, well fought.

## Canadian Dollar Worth Less but Buys More

The Canadian dollar may be worth only 36 cents in the U. S. but its purchasing value at home—thanks to price control—is much greater than that of the U. S. dollar in the U. S., comparative figures by the Canadian Wartime Prices Trade Board revealed.

The contrast was especially marked in food prices, which are still under ceilings in Canada.

Milk sells for 12 to 16 cents a quart in Canadian cities, compared to 22 to 26 in U. S. cities. Butter, which Canadians can

buy for 41 to 46 cents a pound, costs Americans 75 to 91 cents.

Canadian eggs sell for 44 to 53 cents a dozen against 53 to 67 cents in the U. S.; first grade white flour, 69 to 93 cents for a 24-pound sack, against \$1.65 to \$2.13 for 25 pounds, and pork 39 to 49 cents a pound compared to 45 to 59 cents in the U. S.

The Canadian figures, compiled during January, 1947, showed that the price of clothing was fairly equal in both countries although woolen goods were of better quality in Canada.—*Federated Press*.

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Decency, American standards of living, the right to vote, the right to enjoy freedom and liberty as guaranteed under the constitution, are denied to the vast majority of southern workers so that the great minority can wallow in wealth through their feudalistic bleeding of people and the plundering of natural resources.—*The AFL Auto Worker*.



# Highway Death Toll Tremendous

## Efficient Traffic Control Will Reduce Casualties

**I**N 1946, the number of men, women and children killed in highway accidents totaled about 35,000—roughly 8,000 more than in 1945. At least 1.25 million were injured, many tens of thousands of them permanently crippled.

You have readily available the corresponding figures for your own community and state. They may be above the national average, or below it. In either case, they are intolerable.

Several factors are commonly cited to explain this shocking accident increase: the reduction of traffic police personnel, for example; the unsafe operating condition of many over-age cars; the heavy damage to streets and roads caused by wartime traffic and enforced neglect; the general let-down in personal conduct following release from wartime restrictions.

These conditions and others all have played a part. But the most important factor in the 1946 accident increase was simply an increase in traffic! The records show that fatalities and travel mileage have been climbing upwards together steadily since the summer of 1945.

The total number of accidents or deaths in any given period is not a good yardstick to measure the problem. The significance of a total number depends on how much traffic used the highways in the period covered. A more reliable index is the *rate* of accidents; for example, the number of fatalities per 100 million vehicle miles of travel.

Back in 1934, the national rate was 18 deaths per 100 million vehicle miles. The amount of travel was increasing enormously, year by year. If that rate had remained at 18, the death totals for the eight years before World War II would have been fantastic.

But a balanced safety program was developed in those years. It was applied by many cities and several of the states. As a result, the national rate had dropped to 12

by 1941. And although the total number of fatalities increased, reaching a peak of nearly 40,000 in 1941, the safety efforts of prewar years actually saved 95,000 lives, and spared millions of injuries which otherwise would have occurred.

What about the future?

As new car production reaches large volume, the increase in motor vehicle registrations will accelerate. Meanwhile, the mileage per car also is increasing; it is estimated to be 1,000 miles per car higher now, on the average, than before the war. This means accident exposure will be much greater. Unless the fatality rate is pushed still further down by a widespread application of proven accident prevention techniques, the outlook is extremely critical.

The future, then, is up to your community and state. And you.

Traffic congestion has reached alarming proportions in every metropolitan area in the country, and on most of the major rural arteries carrying heavy volumes of vehicular movement. As the governor of one state recently warned, economic paralysis has begun to set it. Every town and city in his state, he said, is a major traffic bottleneck. Other states are no different.

What has brought about this situation?

The answer is simply that we have grossly overloaded our street and highway facilities. From 1920 to 1940, the number of cars, trucks and buses in the U. S. increased three times. In the same period the annual mileage per car was doubled. Two times three is six. In 20 years the volume of traffic had multiplied six times.

Highway engineers couldn't keep up with the demands, although they worked miracles in the development of rural roads. In the cities, the gigantic volume of traffic was crowded into obsolete street patterns. By 1941, congestion in urban areas had slowed down movement to a snail's pace, and a substantial part of the rural trunkline mile-



age was incapable of meeting the requirements of modern traffic because of inadequate width, bad curves and other deficiencies.

The war halted all plans for large scale improvements. It stopped even the normal annual replacement programs, and handicapped maintenance operations, so that deficiencies continued to pile up. Wartime rationing of mileage temporarily relieved the situation, but when normal traffic was resumed, the postwar increases began, congestion was worse than ever.

You can identify offhand some of the severe bottlenecks to free movement in your own area. Here are two examples:

A. Route 25 in New Jersey, which handles traffic converging on the west entrance to the Hudson Tunnel, is a six-lane highway. But it has reached a 24-hour peak of 102,000 vehicles, which is equivalent in passengers to the entire population of a city the size of Knoxville, Tenn. Congestion is a growing problem in the area served.

B. Across the continent, San Francisco and Oakland are connected by the Bay Bridge, which was constructed a decade ago with six passenger car and four truck and bus lanes. It was expected to be adequate for 20 years. Today the bridge is carrying more than its maximum capacity of 45,000 vehicles daily, and the people of the Bay area are finding traffic seriously congested.

Everywhere else motorists see the same thing: lines of vehicles in week-end traffic, jammed bumper-to-bumper behind traffic signals; slow and hazardous movement across and through cities, sometimes actually taking more time than in horse-and-buggy days. The penalty is more than jangled nerves and lost time. It is measured in increased transportation costs; in the stragulation of communities, to whom free access is essential; in reduced property values and in restrictions to trade.

Traffic congestion, like traffic accidents, demands immediate and constructive efforts in the community and state.

Facilities for moving vehicles safely and efficiently in and out of your community are not enough. There also have to be places for the vehicles to park. Lack of adequate

parking facilities in downtown areas and elsewhere is another major question profoundly affecting the whole future of urban redevelopment.

Recently, in Washington, D. C., a survey by federal authorities disclosed that a pre-war movement of 25 per cent of the people entering the downtown area daily by automobile has now dropped to 10 per cent, due to two things: lack of parking facilities, and the increased traffic congestion and delay.

It is a very personal problem. The chances are you have seen it at close range in your own experience, or those of your family or associates. A motion picture made in Hollywood in 1946 shows a woman driver vainly trying to find a parking place, and these scenes provoked howls of laughter from audiences. Familiar troubles are often funny when they happen to somebody else.

But the parking problem is no joke to the shopper, the worker or the business man. It is an issue of grave urgency to business establishments; to municipalities faced with violent shrinkage in values of properties on which taxes depend; to all thoughtful citizens concerned with the economic and social progress of their communities.

An absolute necessity to safe and efficient highway movement is good enforcement of sensible, uniform rules of the road. By good enforcement is meant consistent, impartial and reasonable enforcement, utilizing the techniques of traffic control which have been developed and tested by the police profession. This calls for careful selection and thorough training of police personnel, together with high administrative standards in traffic courts and prosecutors' offices.

Good traffic enforcement, which includes the complete eradication of "the fix," engenders greater respect for law; facilitates the safe movement of vehicles and pedestrians, and is supported by all citizens except a small minority of willful violators or those seeking special privileges. A recent public opinion poll disclosed that strict and impartial enforcement is supported even by those who have themselves been convicted of violating the law.



# British Unions Backing Recovery

## Labor Party Grapples with Economic Problems

By T. N. SHANE  
British Information Services

**A**MPLE evidence of the determination of organized workers in Britain to put everything behind the government in the drive for industrial and economic recovery is provided in resolutions from trade unions which figure in the preliminary agenda for the annual conference of the Labor Party, to be held from May 26 to 30.

This document contains hundreds of resolutions, scores of which are concerned with manpower, production and questions bearing on these vastly important factors.

A typical resolution is one forthcoming from the Mine Workers, who declare that the only permanent and satisfactory solution of Britain's manpower problem in the coal mining and other undermanned industries is to raise the status and standard of living of the workers.

The resolution also considers that further delay in the adoption of satisfactory wage standards and conditions of employment in the industries concerned threatens the whole economic policy of government, points on which it may fairly be claimed that the government is doing its best to meet the union view.

Another key organization, the Constructional Engineering Union, makes a practical contribution with a series of more or less concrete proposals. This organization wants the reintroduction of the 100 per cent excess profits tax, with disclosure of all company profits and control of those profits; control of the supply and distribution of consumable goods and basic materials; reintroduction of legislation for redirection of labor forces; incentives to workers under the joint control of the employers and trade unions; a foreign policy which would make possible a considerable reduction in the armed forces of the country.

Most of these points, with the exception

of the proposal for the redirection of labor forces, are covered several times in resolutions put forward by one or another of the local labor parties—many of which, of course, have a very high proportion of trade unionists in their membership.

The demand for the reduction of the armed forces occurs perhaps most frequently; it is included in 27 out of 41 resolutions in this section. It is not probable that the suggestion for redirection of labor (assuming this to mean the direction of labor which was in force during the second World War) will receive very much support.

The general trend of the resolutions is rather in favor of extra incentives to increase output—a point which is also made by the constructional engineers themselves. Other bodies support the idea of reintroduction of factory and site committees and tighter control of profits.

There is, in fact, obviously a decidedly widespread feeling that industry should go as it were into "battle training" for the crisis which the labor rank and file regard as quite as serious as any which had to be faced between 1939 and 1945.

The constructive attitude of mind of the unions in their approach to the situation is quite clearly shown in a resolution from the Distributive and Allied Workers (a highly progressive section of Britain's trade unionism) asking the minister of labor and the Trades Union Congress to get together and see how industrial negotiating machinery can be speeded up with the aim of avoiding friction and unofficial strikes. This is a delicate and complicated topic.

The character of recent unofficial strikes in Britain has indicated that the psychological factor needs particularly careful attention at a time like the present. Anything that looks like unnecessary delay in dealing



with a grievance is apt to sharpen the edge of resentment, and it can happen that, with the best will in the world, the machinery designed to protect the worker sometimes seems to work the other way.

One local party group, in fact, states categorically that "too much use is being made of negotiating machinery by employers for purely delaying purposes when it suits them." Although responsible trade union leaders would not sustain this accusation against employers as a class, it is as well that any causes for suspicion should be removed.

The Electrical Trades' Union wants the government to operate more extensive and rigid control of prices. There are quite a few resolutions on this topic of control of prices, several of which come from those local parties which are also trade councils. This request is linked with a proposal from one or two quarters for the revision of the cost of living index.

Since the resolutions were framed, the government has accepted the contention that the present official index, based on the average working class expenditure in 1908, is out of date. Measures are being taken to construct an interim index which will have a closer relation to the present-day expenditure of working class families. In the meantime, demand for the control of prices is pretty sure to be strongly backed by trade union rank and file feeling, and it may be

expected that discussions on the topic at the May conference will receive close attention by the government.

But it deserves to be noted that more than one of the organizations which voice the demand make it a point that, in their view, control of prices will help the production drive. The theme is never far from their minds. Economic angles stick out, too, in resolutions on international affairs.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union, which recently sent a delegation to Soviet Russia, wants Britain's government to do all it can to get a trade agreement with Russia, to extend export credits and make any other financial arrangement which may be necessary. This, they claim, would help both countries. Britain would get essential raw materials; Russia would get engineering and electrical goods. Six local labor parties in crisply phrased resolutions urge the importance of trade agreements with the USSR.

It should be observed that the general tone of resolutions throughout the agenda is not critical of the government in a hostile sense. Where the miners think more should be done, they say so, but in the manner of people who are confident that it will be done if possible. Where they think the government has done well, they pause for a word of praise. The agenda makes it clear that the rank and file of Britain's workers—particularly the trade union rank and file—are on the job every time and all the time.

## AFL to Challenge State Labor Laws

Local unions in all states where anti-labor laws have been enacted by the legislature should not undertake independent legal action against such laws.

If they do, they may upset the carefully planned program of the American Federation of Labor to challenge the constitutionality of these laws.

Herbert S. Thatcher, associate of AFL General Counsel Joseph A. Padway in Washington, D. C., has informed this International that the AFL is about to begin litigation testing the anti-closed shop law passed in North Carolina.

Preparations to follow this action against other state laws are under way in cooperation with the state federations of labor. Mr. Thatcher said that it is important that no hasty action be taken by any local union. It might result in a hostile ruling by the courts that would prejudice test cases now being planned.

Therefore any Teamster local becoming involved with any local law should at once refer the matter to its state federation of labor, which is acting in close coordination with AFL national headquarters and Mr. Padway.



# Don't Outlaw Communism—Green

## AFL Leader Warns of Peril in Rankin Legislation

By WILLIAM GREEN

THE Communist party of the United States has generally constituted but a small proportion of Communist activity in this country. The standard Communist technique is the technique of indirection and infiltration.

Many organizations, sponsored by well meaning but ill informed men and women prominent in the community, the academic world and even in church life have been created for the sole purpose of providing a respectable front for furthering Communist aims and purposes. Other organizations, completely non-Communist in their origin, have been captured by Communists who, by infiltration, rigid discipline and tireless persistence, would succeed in placing their candidates in key positions and eventually gain control.

These devious techniques and covert tactics make it plain that the task of combating Communism is by no means simple. Communists are aware of the fact that the tenets of Communism are repugnant to the vast majority of Americans. Hence their reliance on indirection and concealment and their constant endeavor to confuse and mislead.

By changing their policy or "party line" at will, they have not hesitated to shift and even completely reverse their objectives over night if that would gain them a temporary strategic advantage. If we are to reach to the roots of Communist penetration into the American community, we must be ready to recognize the complex and intricate nature of the problem with which we are confronted.

The uncompromising stand of the American Federation of Labor against Communists and against Communism has been firm and unequivocal. Few, if any, groups have been as alert as the American Federation of Labor in recognizing Communism's repulsive aims and objectives and the manner in

which they constitute a grave potential menace to American institutions.

The AFL has unswervingly and vigorously devoted much of its energies and resources to the task of resisting the infiltration of Communists and their ideology into the ranks of organized labor and has, we believe, achieved unusually high success in that endeavor.

In the light of our record, it goes without saying that we are keenly aware of the need for the government of the United States to recognize its full duty to guard vigilantly against Communist activities which have been subversive, seditious and sometimes even treasonable in character.

We are sympathetic with the motives which have prompted the authors of H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122. Nevertheless, upon careful consideration of the problems involved, the AFL is compelled to enter its opposition to these proposals as inconsistent with the American Constitution and as likely to defeat the very purpose they seek to accomplish.

The AFL believes that the objectives sought in these bills cannot be achieved by this type of legislation. It is altogether alien to the spirit and letter of our constitution to outlaw ideas. The Constitution of the United States holds inviolate the inalienable right of every American to believe what he will and to speak freely what he believes.

Beliefs, be they political or religious or, as in the case of Communism, a combination of both, may not be outlawed.

Freedom of speech or of the press likewise may not be abridged by Congress. The very strength of democracy lies in its unswerving adherence to the rights of free speech, free inquiry and free interchange of ideas.

Democracy in America is ready to meet and to best any alien doctrine without fear and without cowering. The very weakness



of Communism or any other dictatorship is that it cannot survive the practice of these basic freedoms, that it must rely on the rule of force and the rule of fear to cow the people it dominates into submission.

To surrender an iota of our basic constitutional freedoms is to detract from the very strength that makes democracy unassailable and to confess of a weakness in the democratic order which does not in reality exist. Totalitarian methods have no place in a democracy. Americans must reject their use, no matter how laudable the ends to which such methods may be put.

Without minimizing the danger or odium of Communism, we think it accurate to say that it has not reached the point in this country—and never will—in terms of the number of its adherents or of the extent of its influence, where we are forced to adopt laws which constitute so sharp and drastic a departure from our traditional constitutional concepts.

Even assuming for the moment that such a law is subject to effective enforcement from a practical point of view, its mere enactment would contain a suggestion of defeatism. Such a law would imply what is not true, namely, that Communism has become so extensive in this country as to require us to adopt a tactic which savors more of Communist Russia and Nazi Germany than of democratic America.

Indeed, should we adopt such a tactic, we should unwittingly be stimulating the spread of Communism, for we should in effect be admitting to the world that we deem its methods and tactics both effective and acceptable.

Communism thrives on suffering, privation and poverty. In helplessness and desperation and under threat of force, millions of people of eastern Europe and Asia are being brought under the yoke of Communist domination.

How can we consistently challenge the Russians' denial of the right to free elections to the Poles, once we ourselves begin to deny free elections to our own people here in America? How can America's spokesmen in the Council of Ministers and in the councils of the United Nations insist that with-

out the freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of religion, there can be no genuine democracy, once we ourselves abridge those very freedoms here at home?

We cannot overlook and minimize the danger of establishing a precedent that is capable of immeasurable mischief and abuse, if the proposed bills are enacted into law. There are many who would readily seize upon laws of this kind as a happy means whereby to crush any opposition to their political, social or economic views. We are not without those who today conveniently label as Communism anything they find disagreeable to them. It is safe to say that, should we pass laws outlawing Communism, these people would strive with all their power to persecute and prosecute liberal groups in our country.

The provisions of the Rankin bill, H. R. 1884, illustrate how readily such persecution can be effectuated. Under Section 2 the term "Communist Party" is defined as "the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, whether or not any change is hereafter made in such name."

In any event, Section 2 attempts to enact against a specific organization, no matter how ineffective that attempt may be. In contrast, Sections 3(b) and 3(c) deal not with the Communist Party but with "Communism or Communist ideology."

No definition of "Communism" or "Communist ideology" is presented. Although neither of these terms is defined, it is a crime punishable by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than ten years, or by both, for anyone to "express or convey the impression of sympathy with or approval of, Communism or Communist ideology" in any course of instruction or teaching in any school or in the whole or any part of any publication distributed through the mails. This constitutes a most dangerous thrust at academic freedom and freedom of the press, in clear violation of the Constitution.

Even worse, perhaps, is the possible witch hunt by which many innocents can be victimized. A remark by a teacher need merely "convey the impression of sympathy" with



something as vague and undefined as "Communist ideology," and that teacher is subject to drastic criminal punishment. Similarly, anyone who mails a letter, circular, postcard, newspaper, pamphlet, book or other publication "any part of which . . . conveys the impression of sympathy with or approval of, Communism or Communist ideology" is subject to the same severe punishment.

Are we in America afraid of the Communist doctrine? Have we come to consider it so irresistible as to expect the minds of our adults and of our young to succumb irretrievably to its blandishments? Do we hold the achievements of American history and of American leadership in such contempt, and value our American heritage of freedom and opportunity so cheaply as to have no faith in their ability to compete successfully and overwhelm the teachings of Communist dictatorship?

Enactment of H. R. 1884 would be tantamount to a declaration of voluntary bankruptcy of the ideas and ideals of American democracy. This legislative proposal rests upon a proposition lacking in national self-respect and wanting in patriotic faith, a proposition which every thoughtful American must flatly reject.

While on the face of it not quite so extreme as H. R. 1884, the Sheppard bill, H. R. 2122, is equally unsound and subject to all the objections advanced against the Rankin bill.

By far the most effective weapon against Communist penetration and infiltration is exposure. Merciless public exposition of the men and methods utilized by Communists to gain influence and control over political, civic, social and other organized activities in a community will accomplish more than a thousand criminal penalties directed solely against their formal political activities. The force of the Communist-inspired persuasion withers when brought out into the open. Our unswerving adherence to the freedom of speech and of the press, our ability to expose the true nature of Communism in open discussion and debate will greatly strengthen the ability of Americans to purge themselves of the false

prophets of a phony Utopia in their midst.

Next in importance as a remedy is the requirement of public disclosure of the sources of funds received or spent in any political activity, whether by an organization or an individual. Bring the sources of funds supplied for a political purpose into the open and the sources of subversive and seditious political activity will promptly dry up. Instead of penalizing the membership in any political activity, Congress should prohibit the use of any foreign funds for any political activity in the United States.

Finally, our defense against the insidious aggression of Communism among us rests largely upon the broad purposes of the public policy and of its economic, social and political objectives laid down by the Congress of the United States.

The fires of Communism and every other totalitarian ideology are fed by poverty, privation, injustice and strife. Human misery is the combustible fuel of subversive activity.

The enactment of progressive legislation, designed to serve broad public welfare and responsive to the needs of the great mass of the people, is a vital safeguard against Communist inroads.

Since the American people won the victory over the Fascist rule, their Congress has remained unresponsive to the pressing needs of America's own postwar reconstruction. The urgent, often desperate need of the people for housing, for greater social security and improved health services, for minimum wage protection and other standards essential to maintain a high level of employment, production and prosperity in the years to come have not been enacted.

Congress cannot shirk the duty or escape the challenge thrust upon it as the guardian of the American standard of living in a world in which democracy is meeting its historic test. By accepting this challenge and fulfilling this duty, the Congress of the United States can point the way not only for America, but for the world, toward the lasting victory over poverty, insecurity and fear by a free people, devoted to a truly democratic process.



# Law Prohibits Injunction Abuses

## Norris-LaGuardia Act Passed to Protect Labor

By JOSEPH A. PADWAY

**W**E HAVE seen how the intolerable abuses of the labor injunction led to the passage of the Clayton Act. We have also observed how the provisions of that act limiting the use of injunctions were in large measure circumvented by judicial construction and how Congress again assailed the injunction abuse by passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. We shall now consider to what extent the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act have been effective in accomplishing its purposes.

But, first, what did the Norris-LaGuardia Act provide? In general, it described a certain class of cases to which its terms would be applicable, that is, "cases involving or growing out of a labor dispute." It declared that in such cases "no court of the United States, as defined in this chapter, shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction" except under certain conditions which must be strictly complied with. The term "labor dispute" was defined as follows:

"Any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee."

Coming now to the provisions of the act which apply to this class of cases, we find that no restraining order or injunction shall be issued contrary to the public policy declared in the act, which is that the employee shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

Next, the "yellow dog" contract is de-

clared unenforceable and, further, that it shall not afford any basis for legal or equitable relief. Then the act sets forth a number of union practices which shall not be prohibited, whether done singly or in concert. They are:

"(a) Ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment.

"(b) Becoming or remaining a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in Section 103 of this chapter (referring to the "yellow dog" contract).

"(c) Paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person participating or interested in such labor dispute, any strike or unemployment benefits or insurance, or other moneys or things of value.

"(d) By all lawful means aiding any person participating or interested in any labor dispute who is being proceeded against in, or is prosecuting, any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any state.

"(e) Giving publicity to the existence of, or the facts involved in, any labor dispute, whether by advertising, speaking, patrolling, or by any other method not involving fraud or violence.

"(f) Assembling peaceably to act or to organize to act in promotion of their interests in a labor dispute.

"(g) Advising or notifying any person of an intention to do any of the acts heretofore specified.

"(h) Agreeing with other persons to do or not to do any of the acts heretofore specified.

"(i) Advising, urging or otherwise causing or inducing without fraud or violence the acts heretofore specified, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in Section 103 of this chapter."



It is further provided that the doing in concert of any of the above acts shall not be considered an unlawful combination or conspiracy and that no officer or member of a union and no organization shall be held liable in courts of the United States for the unlawful acts of any other officer, member or agent "except upon clear proof of actual participation in, or actual authorization of, such acts, or of ratification of such acts after actual knowledge thereof."

Space does not permit me to set forth more than the most important procedural requirements which must be strictly observed before any injunction is issued. The minimum requirements are:

1. A hearing must first be held and testimony produced in open court in support of the complaint.

2. The following facts, among others, must be found to exist: that unlawful acts have been threatened or committed, that injury to complainant's property will follow and that the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection.

3. Due notice shall be given before hearing to parties interested as well as to the chief public official charged with the protection of property. But if injury to property is imminent a temporary order may be issued to last for only five days, provided testimony is produced, and this may be done without notice.

4. Relief shall not be granted a complainant who has not made every reasonable effort to settle a dispute by mediation or voluntary arbitration.

5. If a person is charged with violation of any such injunction, he shall have a jury trial unless the contempt takes place in the presence of the court.

While the foregoing appears to be clear and simple enough, the courts nevertheless have had frequent occasion to interpret the various provisions of the act.

Many employers have been extremely reluctant to give up the practice of compulsion by court action and to accept, in its place, voluntary collective bargaining for the adjustment of disputes.

Usually, though by no means always, courts of first instance have given effect to the act. However, the number of cases which have reached the appellate courts attests to the unwillingness of some employers and some lower courts to comply with the provisions of the act.

One of the most fertile sources of disputes arises over the determination of what disputes may be classed as "labor disputes." For example, in the case of *Lauf versus E. G. Shinner and Company*, the latter a concern operating five meat markets in Milwaukee, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Local No. 73, demanded that the company employ only members of the union. None of the company's employees were members. The demand was refused. Peaceful picketing followed. The district court and the court of appeals held that the case did not involve a labor dispute, basing the contention on the ground that, if the employer was compelled to require his employees to become members of the union, it would in effect be coercing them in the choice of representatives, which was against the policy of the act. However, the United State Supreme Court reversed the decision, holding that a labor dispute was involved.

"We find nothing in the declarations of policy which narrows the definition of labor dispute as found in the statutes," the supreme court said.

Again, in the case of *New Negro Alliance versus Sanitary Grocery Company*, the supreme court had occasion to speak upon the scope of a labor dispute. That was a case in which the New Negro Alliance picketed a store, claiming that it discriminated against members of the Negro race in the hiring of employees.

The lower courts held that no labor dispute was involved and granted an injunction, but the supreme court, in reversing the decision, took occasion to point out the broad scope of the definition of "labor dispute" contained in the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It said:

"The act does not concern itself with the background or the motives of the dispute. . . . There is no justification in the appar-



ent purposes or the express terms of the act for limiting its definition of labor disputes and cases arising therefrom by excluding those which arise with respect to discrimination in terms and conditions of employment based upon differences of race or color. . . .

"The legislative history of the act demonstrates that it was the purpose of the Congress further to extend the prohibitions of the Clayton Act respecting the exercise of jurisdiction by federal courts and to obviate the results of the judicial construction of that act."

In 1940 further effort was made to limit the scope of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. In the case of the Milk Wagon Drivers' Union versus Lake Valley Farm Products, Inc., the lower courts granted an injunction to restrain the union from efforts to organize milk peddlers who owned their own vehicles and whose practices were destructive of union conditions.

Plaintiffs were two dairies, a cooperative association and an organization of workers. Defendants were the Milk Wagon Drivers of Chicago and the union's officers. The claim was made that the defendants' picketing constituted a secondary boycott in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and that under such circumstances an injunction could be issued even if a labor dispute was involved.

The supreme court refused to adopt this theory. Pointing to the "unequivocal jurisdictional limitation" contained in numerous

sections of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the supreme court said:

"The Norris-LaGuardia Act—considered as a whole and in its various parts—was intended drastically to curtail the equity jurisdiction of federal courts in the field of labor disputes. And this court has said that 'the legislative history of the act demonstrates that it was the purpose of the Congress further to extend the prohibitions of the Clayton Act respecting the exercise of jurisdiction by federal courts and to obviate the results of the judicial construction of that act.'

"The committee reports on the Norris-LaGuardia Act reveal that many of the injunctions which were considered most objectionable by the Congress were based upon complaints charging conspiracies to violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act."

Examination of the decisions shows that the courts have for the most part given "hospitable scope" to the Norris-LaGuardia Act and have usually complied with its terms. It is fair to say that the principles of the act have become deeply rooted in the public policy of the nation. Moreover, numerous industrial states have adopted anti-injunction legislation modeled upon the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Unless Congress should be prevailed upon to cripple the act by amendments, the injunction abuse will have been in large measure eliminated.

## Toledo Teachers Thank President Tobin

The Toledo Federation of Teachers has written President Tobin expressing appreciation for the support the Teamsters have

given the Teachers. A letter from Dorothy Matheny, editor for the Toledo teachers, states:

"Dear Mr. Tobin:

"The officers and members of Local No. 250 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL affiliate) of Toledo, have asked me to extend their sincere thanks for the numerous editorials and quotations you have published in THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER publicizing the plight of the teachers.

"This sort of publicity is urgently needed, and when as powerful a magazine as yours gives space to advertise this problem, it is doubly effective. This sort of support makes us all the more appreciative of our union affiliation."

It's time to provide health for the nation, through prompt passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingle Health Bill.—*The Labor Temple News, Peoria, Ill.*



## 400,000 Europeans Want In

**A**NOTHER bill has been introduced in Congress to admit 400,000 destitute persons from seven countries of Europe. What does Congress intend to do with them when they arrive? Put them in houses now occupied by Americans? And provide them with jobs now held by Americans?

If not, these 400,000 immigrants will be public charges regardless of what the proponents of this bill say to the contrary.

Its number is H. R. 2910. It is one of a series of assaults on our immigration laws. Last month we reported how S. B. 724 would suspend the immigration laws to permit an influx of cheap labor for farm corporations.

There is a motive to most of the measures attacking the immigration policy of the United States. And it is not a humanitarian motive. A destitute person in Europe would be just as destitute without a job in the United States.

But where are the jobs for 400,000 immigrants? Nobody says much about that. Just bring them in, we are told, and everybody will be happy and contented.

Obviously none of the industrial interests promoting the weakening of immigration laws intends to support the new immigrants by general taxation. They intend that they shall work—cheaply.

And as they find jobs, Americans will lose them.

Labor, at this moment, is in the greatest struggle of its history to maintain its standard of living. Unemployment has begun. Americans are out of work.

Speedy and drastic steps must be taken to stop the increase of unemployment and the decrease of wages. The big corporations of America have decided to break labor, at any cost.

They want a backlog of unemployed so that there will be competition for jobs. As men compete for jobs, the wages decline. The unions become weaker and finally the employers say how long and how hard a man must work for how much.

If Congress admits 400,000 immigrants, the competition for jobs will become more acute and the process of union disintegration will be hastened.

The good old days of the open shop will be just around the corner. That's the way industry reasons. But many unpleasant things will happen first. Labor will not surrender meekly. In fact, it won't surrender at all. It will fight.

Labor cannot afford to let industry import reinforcements from abroad. It must begin to fight now, against every move by industry to weaken labor's bargaining position.

And the arrival of 400,000 immigrants anxious for jobs would be a terrific blow to labor's bargaining position.

We are just as eager as anyone else to help the unemployed of Europe. But we won't help unemployment in Europe by creating it in the United States. That's what H. R. 2910 and S. B. 724 would do. They, and all similar measures, should be defeated.



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